

Notes on early local silver coinages in North-Western India and in the Konkan.—By W. THEOBALD, Member of the Num. Soc. Lon., and Royal As. Soc.

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Among the few articles recovered from the wreck of the steamer wherein the Archæological treasures, books, and manuscripts of Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham were lost beneath the waters of the Bay of Bengal, were some bags of coins, which the owner obligingly presented to me, in the hope that some of the coins might be so cleaned from the crust which had overspread them during their submergence in the sea, as still to be of value: and this proved to be the case with many specimens, though a large number were too corroded by the water to be worth keeping. The majority of the coins, which amounted to several pounds in weight, were of copper, or that mixture of silver and copper issued by the Dehlī mint, but among them were a few silver coins, which I propose to describe in the present paper. These silver coins numbered eighteen in all, of which number sixteen may be referred to a type of great antiquity and intermediate in character between the well-known ‘punch-marked’ coins and those of later date impressed by a single ‘die.’ The coins are impressed from a single die, and thereby connected with modern coinage; but from the simplicity of design, the character of some of the symbols on them, and above all, by their weight, they are evidently closely related to punch-marked coins, and form as it were a local coinage, *sui generis*, which, as far as is at present known, was confined to the North-West of India, or to speak more particularly, to the neighbourhood of Mathurā. Collectively speaking, these sixteen coins may be referred to one class, but thirteen of them have the reverse, either blank, or with two or three small ‘punch’ marks impressed thereon, whilst three of them have the reverse also rudely and imperfectly impressed by a ‘die.’ Of the above thirteen coins, eleven are stamped on the obverse with a peculiar collection of symbols, with such slight variation as resulted from the employment of different dies, not identical in minor particulars; whilst two present an entirely

different design, neither design being very clear as regards its import, or easy to describe, so as to convey any precise idea by words to the reader. The coins are square or polygonal, or even partly rounded. The square ones are eight millimeters broad, and three in thickness. The heaviest coin weighed 27 grains, whilst the average of eleven coins is a trifle under 26. These pieces, therefore, are half *kārṣāpaṇas*, the calculated weight of which equals sixteen *ratis*, or 28·8 grains, though coins rarely attain the full standard of weight and not unfrequently, through wear, fall much below it. (See General Sir A. Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 44).

One of the leading peculiarities of the *purāṇas*, or old silver *kārṣāpaṇas*, is that no two are ever seen exactly alike, the result of course of the symbols, or devices, on them being struck independently from different 'punches' at different times. With 'die'-struck coins, however, this is not so, though different dies may vary somewhat in the details of the devices on them.

The device on the obverse of eleven of the coins is made up of two principal symbols, and four or five smaller or accessory ones. The first and uppermost of the two principal symbols resembles a nine-pin, placed horizontally, with its head to the right and the body slightly tapering towards the left. The head is conical, and demarked from the body by a constriction, or neck, on the left of which, in some coins, is a circular impression or groove, which, were it not behind the head, might be thought to represent an eye.

The lower side of the object is very slightly convex and quite plain, but above and inclined at an angle of 45° to the axis of the body are three or four parallel straight or slightly curved lines, having a rayed or fin-like character, whilst two shorter lines terminate the body and impart a fanciful fish-like appearance to the whole symbol. What this symbol is intended to represent I have not the faintest idea, nor does it resemble any of the numerous symbols met with on the silver *kārṣāpaṇas*, or 'punch-marked' coins. On these 'punch-marked' coins fish are very conventionally portrayed, but there is no doubt respecting the object the artist had in view. On each side of the body two fins are symmetrically arranged, the anterior pair representing the pectoral, whilst the others stand for the dorsal and ventral fins. Behind the fins comes the more or less bifid tail, which leaves no doubt of the nature of the object in question. See *Numismata Orientalia*, Part I, plate I, fig. 10, on which a pair of fishes is seen in an 'incused' area; and in the same plate, fig. 8, where a turtle is represented between two fishes, and the third figure on the right on the seventh line, where two pairs of fishes are represented in a tank facing one another. In the

symbol, however, on the coins I am dealing with, there is a complete want of symmetry in the fin-like rays, and above all, the marked constriction behind the head is quite conclusive that no fish is intended. It has occurred to me that a 'dug-out' or fishing canoe, made from the hollowed stem of a 'Borassus' palm may be the object intended. In that case the fin-like lines above would represent the supports for the net, either of bamboo or rope. This mode of fishing, which may be still noticed on the rivers of India, is no doubt very ancient. The method adopted is to fix two long bamboos over the side of the boat, as a 'fulcrum,' so that they can be tilted downwards beneath the water and afterwards raised above it. Between these bamboos a net is stretched, which by being lowered into the water by means of its supports, often captures fish which may have drifted over it. This suggestion is merely hazarded for want of a better; but we may be sure the design represents some object or idea familiar enough in the daily life of those among whom these pieces circulated. Below the last symbol is another, equally puzzling at first sight, and respecting which all that can be safely said is that it is intended to represent some quadruped or other, with its head to the right hand. On seven of the coins the form of the animal is sufficiently well preserved for a general description. The legs are short and merely represented in a conventional manner. The head presents the only character to guide us. It is destitute of horns, and therefore no bovine or other ruminant. It is massive and set squarely on to the neck, the line of the back and the plane of the forehead forming an angle clearly less than a right angle. There are no tusks, and it is therefore pretty certain an elephant is not intended. This almost reduces our choice to the horse, and the tail which is preserved on one or two specimens quite supports this conclusion. The horse does not occur (to my knowledge) on any silver 'punch-marked' coin, but occurs on the later die-struck copper coins of the Satrap Hagamasha, figured by General Sir A. Cunningham among Mathurā coins. (*Coins of Ancient India*, plate VIII., fig. 7). In some cases, on this symbol likewise, a small punch-marked depression may be noticed, which might be supposed to represent an eye, as was noticed in the case of the first-described symbol; but these marks are produced by a 'punch,' and occur on both sides of the coin, and are most probably 'shroff marks' or marks of attestation put on coins by money-changers through whose hands they have chanced to pass. This system of 'shroff-marking' all 'rupees' which pass through a money-changer's hands is in fact nothing more than a survival of the earliest mode of attesting current money by impressing a 'punch-mark' thereon, though the 'punches' used by private individuals were smaller and

less intricate in character than those used on the earliest coins or *kārṣāpanas*. The rupees of the great Kooch-Bihar 'find' of 1863, were 'shroff-marked' with a variety of 'punches,' and many Bengal coins are completely defaced by the process; and I may here testify to what has often struck me in the early 'punch-marked' coins,—the wonderful capacity the engravers of these 'punches' displayed in conveying the idea of the object or animal intended, which can be identified, where only a fragment of the impression remains.¹

In fact the determination of the animal is really a question of 'heads and tails'! The tail certainly resembles that of a horse, and if as much cannot be said of the head, there is no animal, whose head it more closely resembles. On the whole, the probability is that a horse is intended.

Whilst on the subject of the identification of animals represented on old coins, (a subject claiming for its elucidation the knowledge of the sportsman and naturalist rather than the antiquarian and numismatist), I would make what I believe to be a correction of an opinion expressed in my paper 'On the Symbols on the Coins of Kuninda,' (*ante*, Vol. LV, page 163), and repeated in my paper 'On Punch-marked Coins' (*ante*, Vol. LIX, page 218), to the effect that the animal represented on coins of Amōghabhūti, king of the Kunindas, was intended for a Yak. A capital figure of the animal in question is given in '*Coins of Ancient India*,' plate V, fig. 2, and I now consider the animal on these coins to be a buffalo and not a Yak. It was my friend Sir Alexander Cunningham who first drew my attention to the fact that the 'Yak' was an animal unknown in the region occupied by the Kunindas, that is, Kullu and Sirhind, and unlikely therefore to be selected to appear on their coins. The buffalo, on the other hand, is an animal which has pastured on the banks of the Sutlej as early as the Aryan occupation, and probably earlier, and as the most important type of *pecuniary* wealth, it might well be selected, apart from mythological symbolism, to occupy the prominent position it does on the money of a pastoral and agricultural people. The first writer (if I mistake not) to suggest the 'Yak,' in con-

¹ On the Bengal coins in my own cabinet the following marks or symbols occur, placed always on the obverse of the coin. 1, A watchful goose to r., that is with its head and neck upraised. 2, A duck at-roost to l. 3, A crocodile asleep, to l. 4, A peacock (?) 5, A conch shell. 6, A Maltese cross. 7, A 4-petalled flower. 8, A 7-pointed star. 9, A hollow square. 10, Two dots in an oval. 11, A horseshoe, or 'yōni' symbol. 12, A wheel (solar). 13, A ball. 14, A cross made of five dots, one being central. 15, A conventional tree, perhaps the 'Tulsī' (*Ocimum*.) 16, A dagger, 'Kaṭār.' 17, An S with open ends, like the letter S. 18, A Bengali B, and 19, perhaps an N; and others too obscure to specify.

nection with the animal on the coins of the Kunindas, was Mr. Edward Thomas, who thus describes the animal in *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I., New Series, page 441. "The central figure represents the conventional form of the sacred deer of the Buddhists. The horns are fancifully curved, and the tail is imitated from that of the Himalayan Yak." I have in my above first-quoted paper disposed of the error Mr. Thomas here falls into, in describing the horns as "fancifully curved." The two snakes, described as "fancifully curved," are not horns and do not form part of the animal above which they are displayed. The tail is the tail of a 'bovine' ruminant, as distinguished from that of the 'cervine' ruminant, or deer, and there exists not the slightest ground for saying it is imitated from another animal than that represented on the coin. Zoologically considered, there is no great reason why the figure might not be intended for a Yak; but as the 'Yak' is not an inhabitant of the country in which the coin was current, the figure is probably meant for a buffalo, which it suits better than any other animal. Two silver coins and three copper coins, with the figure on them of the so-called 'deer,' are figured in the *Coins of Ancient India*, plate V, page 70. The two silver coins are beautifully distinct and fully support my contention that the animal is no 'deer.' In both these coins the animal is seen in profile, with the head turned round so as to exhibit a pair of crescentic horns, and the tail moreover in both coins is long and bushy, reaching to the 'hocks.' No deer whatever has either crescentic horns or a tail reaching to its 'hocks,' whereas the design is a very spirited one of a buffalo, with its head lifted up, as is the manner of the beast when in a threatening or inquisitive mood, and we may even identify the animal as pertaining to the short-horned race of the '*Arna bhainsa*,' as distinguished from the long straight-horned race of Assam and the Eastern Provinces.¹

¹ There is also in the Panjāb a straight-horned race of domestic buffalo (whose horns are sometimes loose and attached to the skin only), but these are a very degenerate breed, and not the type displayed on the coin. A buffalo head, however, of this type is seen on some Sassanian and Indo-Sassanian coins. The buffalo type cannot be mistaken, the convex forehead, knotty horns and square muzzle, and yet on a coin of Hormisdas III., it is merely described as "une tête de taureau," by Longpérier in his *Essay on Sassanian Coins*, page 59. If Mr. Thomas erred in not recognising the buffalo as the animal on the coins of the Kunindas, he committed a still more serious error when describing the helmet of the king on a coin of Huvishka as defended by buffalo's horns (*Jainism*, pl. II, fig. 16.). Accepting Mr. Thomas's statement that the helmet is defended by 'horns;' yet how preposterous is the notion that buffalo's horns could be so used! A coin, identical no doubt with that before Mr. Thomas is in my possession, and on it the horns are arranged with their bases joined in front, or approximating, whilst the

I will now describe a coin in my possession whereon the animal usually termed a deer is unusually well seen, and because the coin is of a novel and rare type and a distinct variety of that figured in *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. V, fig. 4. The coin figured (l. c.) is thus described by General Sir. A. Cunningham:—"Weight 131 grains. Obverse: the god Çiva standing to front, with battle-axe-trident in right hand, and leopard-skin hanging from left arm. Indian legend: *Bhāgavatō Chatrēçvara Mahātanā*. Reverse: deer in middle, with symbol between horns, snake below to right, tree, star and vase to left, chaitya and symbols.

My own coin weighs 261 grains and may be described thus:—Obverse: the god Çiva standing to front, with battle-axe trident in right hand, and the left hand resting akimbo on the left hip. A sort of bow or loop below left wrist, but apparently no skin of an animal over the arm; a small crescent on the forehead, above and behind which spreads a mass of thick short curls. Body naked to the waist, loins girt with a capacious *dhōtī*, loose folds from which fall down almost to the knees. Above the left shoulder a six-rayed star identical with that often seen behind the figure on the reverse of coins of Aspa Varma. (*Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Greek and Scythic Kings*, pl. XX., fig. 2). All that remains of the legend is *Bhāgavatō*, as in the above coin. Reverse: a buffalo in the field, in side profile to the left, with very convex (bubaline) forehead, a bushy tail reaching to the hocks, and a single crescentic horn, from the base of which the ear is seen to protrude. Over the head an upright staff separating two serpentine bodies intended probably for a pair of cobras. On the silver coins figured on plate V (l. c.), figs. 1 and 2, the snakes are well seen, but the central staff or lingam symbol is absent. Above the muzzle of the buffalo are three balls, the obvious symbol of the masculine triad whether viewed in a sexual or theistic sense. In front of the buffalo's chest is a 'stūpa,' or 'chaitya' of six chambers, surmounted by a small T, the equivalent of the 'Chatra,' or umbrella, seen on the punch-marked coins, and representing perhaps the form taken by that symbol when wrought in stone, as seen in Burma at the present day. Below the 'stūpa' occurs the 'food receptacle' as I interpret its import (see *ante*, Vol. LIX, pl. IX, fig. 119), and at the bottom of the field a snake, with its head elevated a little from points of the horns project behind the king's helmet, just clear of his head. Of course the horns which thus encircle the helmet cannot be those of a buffalo, being relatively too small, but are most indubitably those of the ravine deer (*Gazella bennettii*) which measure some ten inches in length, and are, by their size and shape, very well adapted for such a defensive purpose, as well as being ornamental likewise.

the ground, and in the act of progressing to the right. Beneath the belly of the buffalo is a curved object like a crooked cucumber, with a T above it. Behind the buffalo is the sacred tree standing on a square base, and above the animal's back an unfamiliar symbol, which has much the appearance of a monogram. It consists of the Greek letter 'phi' with the top limb removed, and standing on a short cross-bar for a base, with a similar bar attached like a semaphore arm, on the left, a little above the base. A beaded margin surrounds the coin.

To return now to the consideration of the half *kārṣāpaṇas* from Mathurā, there are, besides the two very obscure principal symbols, several subordinate ones of smaller size. On five coins the 'triskelis' occurs in the upper right-hand corner, a little above and in front of the fish-like symbol previously described. This 'triskelis' is small, very neatly formed and revolving from right to left (see *ante*, Vol. LIX, pl. X, fig. 131). This form of the 'triskelis' forms part of the obverse die from which the coin has been struck, and stands in relief above the surface of the field; but on one coin, a small reversed 'triskelis' (see *l. c.*, fig. 130) has been impressed by a 'punch,' on the reverse of the coin, and may perhaps be regarded as a 'shroff mark' put on to it after it was in circulation.

Another very obscure symbol is of occasional occurrence. It represents a straight object tapering to a point above, and ending below in a short lateral arm also pointed, which forms an obtuse angle with the body of the symbol. This side arm is deflected either to the right or left, and the only suggestion I can offer as to its meaning is, that the symbol is intended to represent a rude wooden plough, the short basal arm being the 'coulter.' Ploughs of this character, with only a few inches of iron, to form the point of the 'share' are still used in India, and the simplest form perhaps of the instrument was a straight piece of some tough wood, with a bend at one end; where a branch had been given off, to form the 'share,' such as the Poet must have had in view when attributing agriculture to the Silver Age of the Earth, and before the use of iron had come in vogue.

“Semina tum primum longis cerealia sulcis

Obruta sunt, pressique jugo gemuere juvenci—

Ovid. Met. Lib. I, 123.

Another symbol on these coins is the 'taurine' (*Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1890, Pl. X, fig. 128*). On four coins a pair of 'taurines,' one inverted over the other, occupies the place of the 'triskelis,' in front of the principal symbol on the right of the coin, and on a fifth coin, in addition to the 'triskelis,' a 'taurine' is added under the head (if we may so consider it) of the lower of the two principal symbols.

Lastly, on two coins, traces are seen of a 'caitya,' whereon the horse (if this attribution is correct) is standing, but which from the small size of the coin, has fallen outside its area; if this be so, coins may yet be discovered to clear up this point. The reverse of all these thirteen coins is blank, but on three of them a punch-mark, or shroff-mark as I consider it, has been stamped, a 'triskelis' a 'taurine,' (?) or circle, a mark like the letter R, the upright limb being shorter than the oblique one, and two short parallel strokes or bars.

Adverting now to the three coins whereon an impression has been made by a reverse die, the ninepin-like symbol occurs on the obverse of all of them, only rather more fish-like than usual. On one of them the lower symbol may be fairly construed to represent a horse with a flowing tail; on another the design is too blurred for recognition; whilst on the third the animal may be intended for a horned bovine. On two of these coins the reverses are too imperfectly preserved for description, but on one the design consists of a central boss round which three equidistant half-circles or crescents are ranged with their cusps outwards. Some rude ornament occupies the concavity of the crescents which are separated from each other by a Y-shaped mark, having the arms directed outwards. These three coins are round (not square like the others) of very rude fabric, and weigh 69 grains, or 23 grains each, and do not appear to have suffered loss through wear.

Two square coins with blank reverse, and weighing together forty-eight grains, have an entirely different symbol on them from any above described. The 'dies' are not identical, as on one of them a 'taurine' is present, and a rhomboidal arrow-head or dwarf 'thyrsus' alongside of it, both of small size, the arrow-head being identical with the similar mark on the 'Taxila' gold coin figured in *Coins of Ancient India*, plate II, fig. 18, where it forms one of the segments or elements which constitute the 'thunderbolt' symbol (as it may be called) which occupies the reverse of that coin, and it would be interesting if a link could be traced between this symbol and the "dorje" used in Buddhist worship at present in Tibet.

The symbol which occupies the area of the coin is one as difficult to describe as it is unintelligible. The object is sub-symmetrical and sub-polygonal with four or five projecting angles, and bounded in part by a slightly convex line. From the convex line, rise four slightly radiating strokes followed to the left hand by one or two much longer ones which curve over to the left. Though not quite identical, the object represented on both coins is the same, though obscure to a degree. It once occurred to me that the design might be intended for a human hand, and have reference to the idea recorded on a gem procured by Conelly

in Khorasān, and figured in *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for 1842, page 142, only on one coin the strokes, which in that case would represent fingers, are six in number. In the gem in question, which may be of Gnostic significance, a human hand is seen lightly grasping a human ear, as though designed to illustrate the lines of Virgil:

“Quum canerem reges et prœlia, Cynthius aurem
Vellit et admonuit.”—*Ecloga*, VI, 3.

Whilst, therefore, it cannot be confidently asserted that a human hand is the object represented, it is not wholly impossible that this fantastic and obscure symbol may be the outcome of a crude effort to reproduce the subject of the above gem. Perhaps a larger series of these coins may clear the matter up.

I would now offer a few remarks on a class of coins, only, I believe, hitherto recorded from the Konkan, and described by Sir Walter Elliot in *Numismata Orientalia*, ‘Coins of Southern India,’ Vol. I, pages 66 and 152c. The following is the description of one of these coins figured on plate II, fig. 61:—“No. 61, weight 12·8 grains. Transition punch-coin, found with others in the Konkan, with a bull, erroneously called a lion at pp. 50 and 66, superimpressed on the punch-marks.” Now this description is a very erroneous and misleading one. The coin figured seems imperfect, though they are all very rudely shaped, but with two specimens of my own and six lent to me by Dr. Codrington, I am able to fix the full weight of one of these pieces at 15 grains or more, and the average weight of these eight coins as a trifle over 14 grains. At page 50 (l. c.) we read,—“A find in the Konkan displayed pieces, on which an animal, perhaps a lion, had been impressed in the centre, and above all the others,” and again at page 66 “We have nothing of an earlier date of which we can speak with any confidence, unless it be a hoard of eldlings found in the Konkan with the figure of a lion (?) superimposed on the earlier punch-marks.” Now this is all wrong. The author himself has corrected the error of taking a lion for a bull, but there are no punch-marks whatever on these coins, and although some have been double-struck, yet only on a single coin of my own is there any appearance which would lead to the conclusion of the ‘die’ having been applied over an older design; and as regards this one coin, I believe, such was not the case. The term ‘eldling’ used by Sir Walter Elliot for the ‘punch-marked’ coins, or ‘purāṇas,’ is also misleading, as these coins from the Konkan are not ‘punch-marked’ at all, but struck from dies which, though rude and not all alike, were certainly not ‘punches,’ nor was one device struck over another, save in the case of coins which have been ‘double struck’ from the same die, as of course occasionally happens through

accident. For purposes of description I have before me eight coins, all probably from the same find, as six of them are the property of Dr. Codrington, who supplied Sir W. Elliot with the coin figured by him. On seven of these coins the device is the same, though there are slight variations of detail due to the different dies employed. The principal figure on all the coins is a humped bull walking to the left. The horns form a crescent on the top of the head, and the hump is clearly marked. Beneath the bull is a solid square which with the other minor symbols forms part of the 'die' and is not a 'punch-mark' or independantly produced. Below the square is a hollow parallelogram, bounded by four lines and representing probably a 'tank.' This figure is twice as broad as the square above it, but not quite equal to it in height. Above the rump of the bull is a small 'triskelis,' and behind the 'triskelis' on the right a small 'svastika' with the open angle or concavity formed by the arms facing to the right. On each side of the solid square is a 'taurine' pointing outwards or to the right and left respectively, and between the 'taurine' and 'svastika' a hollow or lined square. On some coins a circle with a dot in the centre is also seen near the margin, but not sufficiently well preserved in any coin to say if the 'lingam-yōni' symbol is intended. The reverses of these coins differ somewhat from each other: On one is a tree, with bifid and trifid leaves or branches, possibly intended for a 'cactus' or 'Euphorbia.' On another a rude 'caitya.' Some reverses seem blank, but most of these seem to have had a different design. On one is a small animal, probably a hare, standing within a circle, strongly recalling the symbol on punch-marked coins termed by myself 'Hare in the moon,' and surrounded by an inscription, one of the letters strongly resembling the Gandharian character for 'ri.'

All the above coins present essentially the same device, but on one coin in my possession there is introduced behind the bull a large twelve-rayed sun, larger than the bull and partly hidden by it. At first sight it appears as though the 'die' with the bull had been counterstruck on a piece with the 'sun' on it, but I am by no means sure that such was really the case, and it is equally probable that the 'die'-sinker first engraved the bull very deeply, and then in a shallower manner the sun behind it; and this is confirmed by the fact that the small 'svastika' which is usually close behind the bull, in this coin appears well outside the 'sun,' instead of counterstruck over it, as would seem to be what would have happened if two dies had been employed. Till however, a second example turns up, the question must remain unsettled. No coin, moreover, with the solitary symbol of a twelve-rayed sun on it is known of this series.

On two or three coins an upright staff is seen in front of the bull which sometimes seems supported by a tripod. On one coin this staff seems replaced by a T, but being on the extreme left of the coin, the symbol often falls outside the field. The coins themselves, too, are of very rude make and often double-struck, and the design thereby injured, and on this account I think the bull came to be mistaken for a lion. Besides the above coins two square ones remain of a different character; one weighs 25 grains, the other 18. They are both die-struck. The first has a circle, a crozier-like pot-hook, and some other unintelligible marks on the obverse, and some obscure crooked parallel marks on the reverse. The smaller coin has what may be intended for the rude figure of a man kneeling to the right, with a 'taurine' and two other symbols behind him, made of a circle with an inverted half-circle over it. The reverse is blank. These coins probably come from the same locality as those above described, but belong to a totally distinct issue of which no more can be said, till other specimens are available for comparison and description.

In my paper 'On Punch-marked Coins' (*ante*, Vol. LIX, page 258), I remark that "the '*triratna*,' strange to say, does not appear to occur on these coins." Since this was written I have acquired a polygonal silver coin of this class, with a symbol on it which I interpret as the prototype of the '*triratna*,' and which may be thus described. In the centre is a good-sized globe. Below the globe are two 'taurines' ranged horizontally with their 'cusps' opposed to each other. On either side of the central globe is a taurine with the cusps pointing upwards, and above the central globe is a crescent, or perhaps a smaller globe, as the margin of the coin cuts across and renders this point uncertain. Supporting this crescent, but not touching each other, are two crescents with their cusps pointing upwards, whilst each outer cusp supports another crescent.

Now, if these crescents are viewed from above, by the symbol being turned upside down, they would present a certain resemblance to the lower tiers of a '*stūpa*' or '*caitya*,' but with the important difference, that each crescent (or chamber, as we should say in the case of the '*stūpa*'), is separated from its fellow and not tangential thereto, as is always the case, so far as my experience goes, with regard to the chambers of the '*stūpa*.' I regard, therefore, the symbol as having no relation to the '*stūpa*,' but as a combination of several crescents.

Now, if we turn to Mr. Robert Sewell's paper on 'Early Buddhist Symbolism' (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1886, p. 364), it is easy to conceive how the 'scarab' (p. 398, l. c.) can be converted, by

what I may describe by the term 'heraldic metamorphism' into not only the 'triçūl' as Mr. Sewell contends, but into the 'triratna' also. The central globe represents the body of the 'scarab'; the legs are indicated by 'taurines,' the lower or posterior pair being represented as opposed to each other, as they are so frequently seen to be, when the animal is engaged in the domestic operation of 'pill-rolling.' The lateral legs are represented by a pair of 'taurines' directed forwards. The anterior crescent in the middle represents the head of the 'scarab,' whilst the pair of crescents on either side represent the strongly curved anterior legs of the insect. The symbol in this form, built up as it is of the meagre materials of 'bull' and 'crescent,' can of course, only be viewed as the prototype of the perfected 'triratna,' but the germ of that symbol is there, and later developments have merely arisen by the process of addition of a floreated ornamentation having for its aim a higher artistic conception and effect.

